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REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Late Horrid Conſpiracy

Contrived by ſome of the *FRENCH* COURT,

To Murther His MAJESTY in *Flanders.*

REFLECTIONS

Late Horrid Conspiracy

To Murder His Majesty in Flanders.

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Upon the LATE

Horrid Conspiracy

Contrived by Some of the

FRENCH COURT,

TO

Murther His MAJESTY

IN

FLANDERS:

And for which Monsieur GRANDVALL, one of the Assassinates, was Executed.

LONDON:
Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.* 1692.

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REFLECTIONS
ON THE
Grand Conſpiracy, &c.

HERE is a Plot with a Witneſs! fully Enquired into, and Proved, and the Traytor puniſhed: Nor has Providence left the leaſt colour for Enemies to cavil about the Truth of a Conſpiracy, *To Take away His Majeſty's Life*, when the Conſpirator himſelf has obliged us with an ample Confeſſion of his Crime. It's but ſeldom, that Deſigns againſt the Lives of Princes come to be believed, till the Execution of them puts them beyond doubt; and for the moſt part, the world is inclinable enough to ſuſpect, That ſomething lies hid under every Diſcovery that is ſaid to be made of Treaſon, until the Blow actually given, puts too late a ſtop to their Incredulity.

But this *French Aſſaſſinate*, tho he has with a Courage worthy of a better Cauſe, paid down his own, for a Deſign to take away one of the moſt Illuſtrious Lives upon earth; yet, it ſeems, he durſt not truſt the Eternal ſtate of his Soul, to a *Jeſuitical Equivocation* at his Death; but choſe rather by a free, open Confeſſion, to diſoblige

his Maſters that ſet him on to perpetrate the Villany, than to venture ſo great a Leap in the dark, with a Lye in his mouth. If this man had been pardoned on the Scaffold after this Confeſſion made, there want not ſome of that good nature, as to have ſtampt the Character of a *Sham Plot* upon the whole Affair, and to have turned it into ridicule, as they do every thing elſe that reflects upon their Party.

Good God! What a diſmal Character muſt a *certain Great Prince* in *Europe* carry with him to Poſterity! And how many indelible Blots muſt ſtick to the Eſcutcheon of his Triumphs! Thoſe *Illuſtrious Villains of Antiquity*, that have Eternized their Names by turning the world upſide down, and who have written their own Epitaphs in Letters of Blood and Horror, they may be reckoned but *ill by halves*, if compared with *their Rivals of this Age*. If it be any ſatisfaction to the miſerable Inhabitants of the Shades below, not to have done on earth all the ill they might have done; then ſure *Attila*, and the reſt of thoſe barbarous Heroes that over-ran the *Roman* Empire, may have ſomething to value themſelves upon, for not being altogether ſo cruel as ſome of their Succeſſors have been.

The *Goths* and *Vandals* broke out of thoſe Bounds that Nature ſeemed at firſt to have ſet them; and carried Fire and Sword to Countries to which they had no imaginable Pretenſions: Theſe Scourges of mankind laid in Aſhes the ſuperbeſt Edifices and fruitfulleſt Territories of the then known world; and this merely to ſatisfie an unquenchable Thirſt after Conqueſt. In all which, a Neighbouring Nation has imitated them in the Age we live in, and the Copy has at laſt ſurpaſſed the Original. Let us ſearch back into all the Hiſtories that are left us, of thoſe mighty Irruptions of Barbarous Nations, upon the then Civilized Parts of the World, and we ſhall not find one

ſingle

ſingle Veſtige of a Baſeneſs among them, equal to that which is the Subject of this Paper. Where, or whenever was it, that the *Goths*, *Vandals*, or *Huns*, employed *Aſſaſſinates* to cut off by Steel or Poyſon, any of the Generals that came, or of the Princes that ſent them, to oppoſe the Torrent of their Arms? All the Dangers their Enemies had to encounter with, were the ordinary Chances of War; and it was only in the Field of Battel that they ran any Hazard. This new way of making War among Princes, by ſuborning *Ruffians* to Aſſaſſinate an Enemy in cold blood, was reſerved to the Age we live in, and to the memorable Reign of *Lewis* the XIV*th.* and it has obliged the World with a *New Æra of Time*, which may be named by thoſe which come after us, **The Age wherein Aſſaſſinations came firſt to be in uſe among Princes.**

They deſerved to be reckoned among the unthinking Croud, or were ſtrangely blinded with prejudice, that have not obſerved a ſurprizing chain of happy Providences, that encircled theſe Three Nations all along, ſince the late Revolution; ſo that our Preſervation from time to time, may be eſteemed the peculiar Care of Heaven, in ſpight of our own Follies, and of our Enemies Malice. In every Scene that has opened to us theſe Four years paſt, there has been imprinted ſuch unuſual Characters of the Divine Care to ſupport this Government, as upon ſerious reflection, may put both Atheiſts and Enemies to the bluſh. In ſhort; if it were proper here to enlarge upon this ſubject, it might eaſily be made appear beyond contradiction, *That the beſt-laid Contrivances of our Enemies abroad, the Intelligences given them by thoſe at home, our own miſtakes, the many ſeeming croſsneſs of Winds, Weather, and Tides, with many other odd accidents, have all of them concurred together, one ſtep after another, to our Preſervation.*

Our late *Victory at Sea*, was an aſtoniſhing Inſtance of this: *A Victory, the beſt timed, the neareſt to have eſcap'd us, and of the greateſt conſequences, all things conſidered, that ever this Nation had; and a Victory, in fine, that at one blow defeated all thoſe vaſt Deſigns of our Enemies, that were juſt upon the breaking in upon us, and ſecured to us our own Countrey, and the Dominion of the Seas.*

Yet even this mighty *Action* was attended with ſuch irreſiſtible ſtrokes of the Divine Watchfulneſs and Care, that every Turning of the Tide, every Change of Wind, and every Storm at Sea for the ſpace of ſix weeks together, did co-operate to our Succeſſes. I ſhall never forget what the Gentleman that had as well **the chief Glory** as **Command** in that Action, was pleaſed to tell me a few days after it happened; *That above Twenty different Accidents, all of them out of the Power of man, or the Sphere of his Deſigns, did concur to the obtaining that Victory; of which, the want of any one of them had unavoidably loſt us the Opportunity.* Adding, *That every Change of Wind and Tide, from the mouth of the River to the place of Battel, ſeemed as deſigned by Heaven to concert the meeting of the two Fleets at that very critical moment they happened to meet; and which was yet the more remarkable, If they had not fought that very day, they had not fought at all, the Orders for Monſieur* Tourville's *returning to* Breſt, *coming to him within a few hours after he was engaged.*

But of all the benign Providences that has attended theſe Nations theſe Four years paſt, none carries more remarkable Characters in it, than the reiterated Preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon, amidſt the many *open Dangers*, and *ſecret Practiſes* he has been expoſed to. One might think his Enemies had but little reaſon to put their Invention on the wrack how to carry him off by ſecret and indirect means, conſidering how familiar the greater Engines of Death are to him every day; and how unweariedly

weariedly he courts all Occaſions to meet them in the Field. But this illuſtrious Life is too mighty *an Obſtacle to the Deſigns of the* French *King*, (as Monſieur *Grandval* expreſſes it) to allow his Enemies any ſatisfaction to ſee it expoſed in every Rencounter to the fury of Cannon, and arm'd Battalions, unleſs to thoſe they add *Ignoble Attempts to take it away by the hand of a Ruffian.* As the *French* King's fondneſs of his own Life denies his Enemies the hope that *he ſhall one day deſcend into battel, and periſh*, (which was the foretold Fate of a King much of his own ſtamp) and by ſo doing, give that Peace to *Europe* in dying, which he never ſuffer'd it to enjoy while alive; So that boundleſs intrepidity of the King of *England* which gives us the greateſt fears, one would think might give him ſome hope, ſince he ſees never Prince bids fairer every day *for Death or Victory.*

The Conduct of the late *Cardinal Mazarine* deſerves admiration in all reſpects: But the Meaſures he obſerved himſelf, and left to his Maſter at his death, with reference to the Family of *Orange*, ſeems to have proceeded from *a wonderful foreſight*, that nothing then in being could naturally lead him to. It was the Young Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, then under the Loweſt Circumſtances of his Fortunes, and at a time when nothing could be expected to make them better, but a Miracle; that this great *Politician* employed a vaſt ſhare of his Thoughts *to keep him low*, and to ſtrengthen and foment a Faction that had made him ſo. During the firſt year of his Miniſtry, the Family of *Orange*, it is true, was in a Condition to give Jealouſie to the Court of *France* in the perſon of a *brave deſigning Prince*, who was not only in poſſeſſion of all the Places his Anceſtors had enjoyed in a mighty Commonwealth, but was placed near the luſtre of a Crown, by marrying a *Daughter of England.*

But

But this *Rising-Sun* was soon set, and death put a stop to his Hereditary thirst of Glory in the very beginning of his career, leaving a Son yet unborn to wrestle with the unkind Misfortunes of *a sinking Family*.

It was then indeed that the House of *Nassau* deserved rather the Compassionate Regards of all the Princes of Christendom, than to be the Object of their Envy and Fear. Then it was that a Family which had eternized its Name by raising a great and rich Republick out of a small Plank of the *Spanish* Dominion, and under whom all the Nations of *Europe* came to learn the Art of War for an hundred years together, did undergo an Eclipse, and such an one, as in the opinion of all the World was to put an end for ever to its wonted lustre.

He that will but be at the pains to consider the dismal Scene that ushered in the present King of *England* into the World, with all the mighty Bars that stood in his way to hinder him from ever making a figure in it worthy of his Ancestors; and at the same time will gather together *all the rising Changes of Fortune he has since undergone; all the things he has done, is a doing, and like to do*; must of necessity conclude, That either Providence has brought about all these Extraordinary Events *to no purpose* (which methinks is a thought unworthy of the Divine Goodness and Wisdom) or that the Prince, who is become such an astonishing Instance of the Care of Heaven, must be *he that shall redeem Europe*. He was brought into the World many weeks before his time, and nothing but mourning for the Father was to be seen in the place where the Son first saw light. A full Moon passed over before it could be almost said he lived, and every minute for several Months together was expected by all about him to be his last.

By his Father's untimely death, and the heat of a prevailing Party in *Holland*, he came into the World despoiled

ſpoiled of all the great Offices and Power his Anceſtors had born in that State; and the Royal Houſe of *England*, whoſe Blood mixed ſo near with his own, was likewiſe ſunk with the Monarchy it ſelf. Under theſe unpromiſing Circumſtances of Fortune, did the Prince of *Orange* draw his firſt breath; and the ſame unlucky Scene that uſhered him in, continued to bear him company till the Two and twentieth year of his Age, when Heaven raiſed him up in a moment, and by ſuch ſurpriſing Steps, that after Ages will hardly believe, *To put a full ſtop to a Conquering Enemy that had brought his Country to the brink of Ruin; and at the Age he could ſcarce write Man, to deliver that Commonwealth from the jaws of deſtruction.*

What other aſtoniſhing greatneſs this Prince has riſen to ſince, has already reached the Four parts of the habitable World, and it's in him that in this Juncture *all the Deſigns a-foot, for vindicating the Liberty of* Europe, *do Center.*

It's hard to ſay, whether this Greatneſs of the King's be more pleaſing to the reſt of Chriſtendom, than it's diſpleaſing to *France*: This is certain, That they look upon him *as the only Obſtacle to the Deſigns of the* French *King; and that upon his death the Confederacy would break, and the* French *King would render himſelf Maſter*; to give it in Monſieur *Grandval*'s own preciſe words. This has put the Miniſters of *France* upon a Deſign that muſt render their Memory infamous to all Ages, and of which their Maſter muſt expect to have a ſhare.

The Deſign in ſhort was this. *Monſieur* de Louvois, *the late Chief Miniſter of the* French *King, had concerted with Collonel* Parker *and one* Dumont, *to aſſaſſinate His Majeſty; but when, and after what manner it was to be done, is not yet made publick. Monſieur* de Louvois *dying, his Son Monſieur* Barbeſieux *ſucceeds to his place, to his Credit with*

with the King, and to the inglorious Deſign againſt the King of England's *Life, the plan of which his Father had left him in writing ſealed up in his Cabinet. The new Miniſter, to accompliſh a Villany his Father's death had rendered at firſt abortive, employs in it Monſieur* Grandvall, *in conjunction with* Dumont *and* Parker; *promiſes by* Grandvall *to* Dumont 20000 *Livres of Eſtate, and a Knighthood of St.* Lazar; *and to* Grandvall *himſelf to make him a Duke, and to give him an Eſtate proportionable in caſe the blow ſucceeded; and all four, with Monſieur* Paparell, *Paymaſter General to the* French *King's Army, and Madam* Maintenon, *the* French *King's ſhe-Favourite and Counſellor, do agree together the manner in which the Aſſaſſination ſhould be done,* viz. *That* Dumont, *after having entred himſelf into the Confederate Army, ſhould take his opportunity when His Majeſty went to viſit the grand Guard, or the Lines, to ſhoot him behind his back, and thereupon make the beſt of his way to a body of Horſe* Grandvall *and* Parker *ſhould have in readineſs upon a previous intimation to reſcue and carry him off. This prepared, and thus encouraged, the three Champions of Villany part from* Paris, Dumont *for the Confederate Army, and* Parker *and* Grandvall *to that commanded by Monſieur* De Luxemburgh. *The two laſt wait with impatience at the Grand Guard night and day,* (to give it in *Grandvall's* own words, according to the *French* Coppy) *to hear from* Dumont; and doubtleſs the Court of *France* waited with the ſame impatience every moment for the arrival of the Courier with the long-wiſhed for News of the fatal Blow.

Heaven took care of the preſervation of Europe, *that did depend ſo viſibly upon one ſingle Life; And whether* Dumont's *heart failed him, or whatever elſe was the cauſe, after ſome weeks attendance without being able to effectuate his Deſign, he retires to the Court of* Hanover, *and thus the Year* 1691. *paſſes over without a Red Letter in the Calender to denote the murther of a King. This Diſappointment had no other influence*

fluence on the French *Court, than to ſet them on with the more eagerneſs to proſecute this Campagne,* 1692. *that, in which they had failed the year before.* Grandvall *and* Parker *returned to* Paris, *and are again ſet on work by* Barbeſieux *and the reſt of the Cabal, among whom Monſieur* Chandlais, *Quarter-maſter General to the* French *King, comes now firſt to appear; and Monſieur* Leifdale, *formerly employed in the States Service, is acquainted with the Deſign, and ſeems to go into it:* Grandvall *continues to keep Correſpondence by Letters with* Dumont, *and* Dumont *with him and* Barbeſieux *both, by means of* Dumont's *Wife at* Paris. *In the end, the Aſſaſſination is again reſolved upon,* Dumont *is to perpetrate it, Monſieur* Chandlais *is in perſon to aſſiſt* Grandvall *to reſcue* Dumont *upon his doing it; and in order to the whole, a Rendezvouz is appointed at* Uden *between* Grandvall, Leifdale *and* Dumont, *whither* Dumont *was to come from* Hanover, *and the other two from* Paris: Parker *at the ſame time coming for* England, *and they for* Flanders; *after all the three having taken leave of an unfortunate Prince at St.* Germains, *where they received from him all the Encouragements that was in his power to promiſe them in the hearing of the* Italian *Queen,* who perhaps would have Miſcarried, if ſuch a Crime, ſo ſuitable to her Genius and Country had been carried on without her having a ſhare in it: and who, no doubt, hoped to ſucceed better in this, than ſhe had done in *Jones*'s, whom ſhe had ſent over to *Ireland* two years ago upon the like errand.

The whole *Plan* being thus ready for Execution, Heaven once more warded off the Blow by *Leifdale* and *Dumont*'s Diſcovery about one and the ſame time, and by the taking of *Grandvall* in his way to *Uden*; and thus the Court of *France* failed in their inglorious Attempt to take away the Life of a Crowned Head by the Hand of a ſuborn'd Ruffian. Upon all which I ſhall

confine my Reflections to a few Heads, and that with all the reſpect that may be poſſibly due to two Perſons of *the firſt Rank among men*, that have ſtained the luſtre of their Birth with ſo *foul an Action*.

What a horrid aſpect the Crime of an *Aſſaſſination* carries with it among all the Civilized Nations of the World, the common Conſent of Mankind puts out of doubt: It may fall out, and indeed but very ſeldom, and perhaps not twice in the Revolution of a great many years, at leaſt in theſe Climates, and at this diſtance from *the Infallible Chair*, that ſuch a baſe kind of Revenge may come to lodge it ſelf in the breaſt of ſome one *noted Miſcreant*, who has thrown off all the common impreſſions of Humanity, and whoſe thread of life beſpeaks him a *Monſter in Human ſhape*, or a *Prodigy of Wickedneſs*. None elſe but ſuch a Creature as this, will be found among the innumerable Ranks of men capable of ſo black a Crime; and when any ſuch diſmal Accident falls out in the World, we look upon it with the ſame horror and amazement, that we do upon the *moſt frightful excentrical Phænomena's in Nature*: The Perpetrator of this kind of Villany falls not only unlamented, but Death it ſelf, that buries our reſentment of moſt of other Crimes, is not able to protect him from our Execrations even in his Grave. If we look back to the few Attempts of this nature noted down to us in Hiſtory (and but few they are) we ſhall find they went no further for the moſt part than the breaſt *of one ſingle Villain*; and if at any time Accomplices were brought in, they were but one or two at moſt; ſo rare a thing it is to meet with any numbers of men together of that Diabolical Temper.

But, good God! how fertile is the Court of *France* of this monſtrous ſpecies of man! Inſtead of one or two perſons capable of ſo foul a Deſign, they can make up the number of *Thirteen*, at one daſh. A baſeneſs of this nature

ture uſed in former Ages to lodge only with ſome of the lower herd of Mankind, who have little elſe to diſtinguiſh them outwardly from Bruits, but the ſhape: But here we have men *of the firſt Quality among Subjects, of noble Birth, of a liberal Education, and in the greateſt Poſts in the Government of their Country: Monſieur* Louvois *and* Barbeſieux *firſt Miniſters of State, and the cloſe Confidents of all their Maſter's Deſigns and Secrets; Monſieur* De Luxemburgh, *Duke, Peer and Marſhall of* France, *the Firſt Commander of the* French *King's Armies, and by his Mother, of the Nobleſt Blood in* Chriſtendom *that wears not a Crown; Monſieur* Rabenack, *and* Bidall, *both employed in the moſt difficult Embaſſies; Monſieur* Paparell *and* Chanlais, *in the greateſt Employments in the Army; and Madam* Maintenon, *though of no Quality, neither by her own birth, nor by her former Husband, yet of neareſt acceſs of all Mortals to the* French *King's Perſon.* Theſe, and no meaner People, do ſtoop to ſo low and ignoble a Plot, *when it makes for the Glory, or for the Intereſt of their Maſter;* And which I would willingly bury in ſilence, Its not only they, but others *of a yet more elevated Rank among men,* that have thrown off all ſenſe of Honour and Humanity, to come into it.

If the aſſaſſinating of a private perſon carries with it ſuch an horrid Idea, How much does that of a Prince, and ſet on by Princes? The greater the Perſons be that either contrive, or againſt whom the Contrivance is made, ſtill the greater is the Villany; And how far the Miniſters of *France* may *alone* lie under the weight of ſo great an Infamy, may be worthy our inquiry.

1. The *French* King had all the reaſon in the World *to ſtand behind the Curtain* when ſuch Engines were a playing, and not to appear barefaced on ſo foul a Stage. If Monſieur *Barbeſieux* thought it not fit to venture to *ſpeak to* Dumont *himſelf, for fear his Reputatation might ſuffer in*

caſe the Aſſaſſinat were ſeized (as *Grandvall* has told us) how much more reaſon had his Maſter to be cautious in ſo nice a point? There is a common *decorum* that He has not yet thought fit to throw off, with reference to Enemies of His Majeſty's Rank; and he that above all Mortals is moſt in love with every ſhew of Glory, had been the weakeſt perſon alive, if he had neglected all poſſible Circumſpection in this Affair.

2. But *ſecondly*, There was not the leaſt Temptation or neceſſity for him to appear either to *Grandvall*, *Dumont*, or *Leifdale*, (who were the only perſons that have been examined) or indeed to any one of the Conſpirators, except *Barbeſieux*. No body in their right-wits will open themſelves in ſo curſed a Deſign as this was, any further than as abſolute neceſſity obliges them: And here it was enough that *Barbeſieux*, his firſt Miniſter, *received the Propoſals*, *concerted the Matter*, *and promiſed Rewards*. There are Caſes every day in all the Courts of *Europe*, wherein *Miniſters* treat with Spies, and ſuch like men; and do both give and promiſe Rewards to them without their Maſter's appearing in it: How much rather in any buſineſs of ſo tender a nature, and in a Court where the *firſt Miniſter* is known to be intruſted with the greateſt Rewards, and the moſt uncontrolled Power in diſpoſing of them?

3. It was ſufficient to concert and ſet a foot the whole Deſign, that Monſieur *Barbeſieux* treated immediatly with *Grandvall*, and by him mediately with *Dumont*. *Barbeſieux* refuſed to treat perſonally with *Dumont*, for fear of his Reputation in caſe he was ſeized; that part being committed by him to *Grandvall*. So that whatever came of *Dumont*, who was to have the greateſt part, if not all the hazard, *Barbeſieux* thought his Honour ſafe, as never having ſpoken to him about it, and having *Grandvall* interpoſed betwixt them. Was it not as reaſonable then, that

that whoever put *Barbeſieux* upon the Deſign, and gave him *Orders* or *Leave* to proſecute it, ſhould uſe the ſame method as to all the reſt of the Conſpirators, except *Barbeſieux*, as *Barbeſieux* was to do with them all, but *Grandvall, To diſcover himſelf to none, but to him to whom he muſt of neceſſity do it.*

4. Whoever reflects upon the Train of the late Monſieur *Louvois* Life and Actions, will not be able to trace any Veſtage of ſo much ill nature and baſeneſs, as was neceſſary to put him originally on ſo black a Deſign. He had acquired, during the whole courſe of his Miniſtry, the Character of a man of ſome Honour; and was known to have endeavoured what in him lay, to moderate the violent courſes of the Court; and particularly with relation to the Proteſtants, in which matter he and the late Chancellor his Father, had ſome Differences that could not be kept ſecret. So that all the harſh meaſures that Monſieur *Louvois* went into, were look'd upon as the effect of his Compliance with his Maſter's Temper and Inclinations, and not of his own Ill Nature. To inſtance this in one particular; When that unparallel'd Edict was in Agitation in the Council, *Forbidding all the Proteſtant Women to be brought to bed by any but Roman-Catholick Midwives*, *Louvois* appeared againſt it; and nothing could bring him to change his mind, but his Maſter's riſing up with his *Je le veux*; after which, there was no more debating. Monſieur *de Louvois* being then a Gentleman of no ill diſpoſition, it's both unjuſt and unreaſonable to think he could be brought into a Conſpiracy to Murder a Crowned Head, tho never ſo much an Enemy to *France*, out of any other Principle, than that of a deſire to pleaſe and obey him on whom his Fortune depended; and every body knows that that Favourite ſaw no body in *France* greater than himſelf, except his Maſter.

But

But 5. Can it enter into any reaſonable man's thoughts, that Monſieur *Barbeſieux* could be *the original ſpring of the Motion* after his Father's Death? Who knows not that *Barbeſieux* is both a very young Man, and a young Miniſter, and one that is rather in the Quality of a Clerk or Privado to the *French* King, than a Counſellor, tho truſted with his Secrets? And indeed he is the *Favourite Miniſter* rather for his Father's ſake, who was one of the beſt Servants ever Prince had, than for any merit he has yet acquired of his own.

6. It's not to be imagined that either *Louvois* or *Barbeſieux* durſt have ventured on ſuch an action, without an higher command; ſince whatever ſhould come of it, whether the Blow given, and the Aſſaſſinates come off, or taken and put to the Rack, it muſt have neceſſarily come to be diſcovered who *ſet them on*; and thereby they two muſt have ventured their Court with the King, if not their Heads; ſince he would be obliged, for the common rules of Decency uſed among Princes, *to diſown both the Action and them.* Let us judge then, if men of ordinary ſenſe, or acquaintauce with the world, would have embarqued themſelves in *ſo hazardous a bottom*, unleſs they knew before-hand the Action would be ſo far reliſhed by the Maſter, *as they might be able to pin upon him the Care of their Safety after it is done.*

7. Tho all I have ſaid to this purpoſe carried no weight with it; yet the *Great Monarch* will not be believed, not to have been very deeply engaged in a buſineſs of ſo vaſt a concern, when it's found, that not only his *Firſt Miniſter of State*, but the *Chief Commander of his Armies* are in it. In the common opinion of the world, founded upon cuſtom, Whatever a *Firſt Miniſter* does in matters that concern the State, eſpecially of ſo tender a nature as the Deſign in queſtion is, he is preſumed to do it by Conſent, at leaſt, if not by the poſitive Command of his Maſter.

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This obtains every where, but more eſpecially in the Court of *France*, where the *Premier Miniſter* does tranſact the greateſt Affairs himſelf, and does write the King's Name to Orders of the greateſt Conſequence, both to Generals at Sea and Land, without the King's own Hand. So that an Order under the Miniſter's Hand, carries with it a natural ſuppoſition that he has conſulted the King before he Signs it; and thence it is, that it receives as punctual Obedience as if the King had Signed it himſelf. But notwithſtanding this, the Power of the *Premier Miniſter* has its own bounds, that every man in the Government knows how far it goes. And none employed in this Conſpiracy could be ſo ſilly, as to believe *Barbeſieux* had power of himſelf to promiſe *Grandvall* to *make him a Duke, or to give him an Eſtate proportionable.* Rewards and Honours of ſo high a nature, are only in the King's own breaſt to give; and except the King knew of it, we muſt ſuppoſe that *Barbeſieux* and *Grandvall* were not only Knaves, but Fools, the one to promiſe, and the other to expect them.

8 There is another Reflection to this purpoſe, which I am willing to mention with all the tenderneſs due to a Crowned Head. The *French* King has acquired to himſelf by a great many actions, the unlucky Character of a Prince *that makes no difficulty to ſtep over all Laws Divine or Human, when it makes for his Glory or Intereſt.* His behaviour towards his Proteſtant Subjects, in ſpight of Fundamental Laws, and ſolemn reiterated Oaths to the contrary; his Swearing to ſo many Treaties of Peace with his Neighbouring Princes and States, and breaking them almoſt as ſoon as ſworn; or rather, *his ſwearing them with a deſign to be the better able to break them*, do bear ſo ill a face, as may make all the Nations about conclude, That a Deſign *which ſhould oblige the Confederate Princes to recal each of them their Troops out of* Flanders, *and by which* Flanders

ders *being left without Soldiers, the* French *King might make himself Master of it, and the late King* James *be restored*, (to give it in Monsieur *Grandval*'s own words), carried with it such forcible Temptations as was not in his power to resist.

9. Madam *Maintenon*'s part in this Affair, affords a shrewd suspicion against her great Benefactor. This Woman, from being the Wife of a *poor, deformed, Burlesque Poet*, has risen to one of the First Places of Confidence about the *French* King. If there were any such thing in nature as *Charms* or *Filtres* to incite Love, it's to the secret force of them, that thousands in *France* would be apt to impute this unaccountable Friendship and Intimacy betwixt *Scarron*'s Widow, and *Levis* the XIV*th*. It were hard to assign any other cause that should oblige the Proudest Monarch upon earth to lay aside all his Glory and Pomp, to lock up himself above four hours every day in the closest Conversation with a Creature, that is now Mistress of no other Charms but that of *Wit*. No mortal has more frequent or nearer opportunities to know his Genius and Temper; and every body will allow her more sense than to embark in so nice a business, without she knew before-hand, that it would please him; nor is it to be dreamed that she has so little Zeal to preserve herself in his favour, as to venture upon that which she might easily think would oblige the *French* King, if he himself were innocent, to sacrifice her to his Honour. And indeed, not only she, but the rest must be accounted downright Fools, if they had ventured upon this Conspiracy, without a natural foresight, that unless they had their Master's Approbation, they might come to run the fate of the *Amalekite that brought to* David *the Head of his mortal Enemy*.

And this leads me to one Reflection more, that must certainly cast the scale, in the opinion of all unbiassed people,

people, and which I doubt not, but at this very day, *is the determining Point that all* Europe *has in their view with reſpect to this Affair.* Here, we ſee, are concerned two perſons of the neareſt acceſs to the *French* King, and in his cloſeſt Confidence, Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, and Madam *Maintenon*; here is concerned his greateſt General, on whom he has laid the weight of his Fortune in this War, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*; and here are other two perſons of conſiderable figure in his Army, *Paparell* and *Chanlais*; and to bring up the Reer, here are two perſons employed in his Embaſſies abroad, *Bedall* and *Rabenack*: It's in the face of the Sun, and to the Conviction of all *Chriſtendom*, that all theſe perſons are proved to have managed a Conſpiracy *to Murther the King of* England: Now if the *French* King knows himſelf to have had no Influence on this Affair, we are certainly to expect that by this time they are in *the laſt Diſgrace with their Maſter*; and that for tainting his Service with ſo black a Crime, contrary to the Law of Nations, and all rules uſual among Princes, *they are, at leaſt, for ever baniſhed* France. There is no other means left now but this, to perſuade the world of the *French* King's Innocence: But if at any time hereafter, we find that all theſe Perſons, or any of them, are continued in their wonted Favour and Employments, then all the Nations of *Chriſtendom* will take leave to conclude, *That theſe Conſpirators did no more but Comply with the Commands of one they durſt not Diſobey.* And that herein there is no hardſhip put upon the *French* King, I appeal to all the Princes of *Europe*, Whether or not, in caſe any of their *Miniſters* were found to Conſpire the Murder of another Prince, tho never ſo much their Enemy, they would not inflict at leaſt that Puniſhment which we may well make the Teſt of the *French* King's Innocency in this Plot of the Marquis of *Barbeſieux*.

To ſum up this Enquiry, it's worth obſerving, That in the Printed Account there are a great many things relating to this Conſpiracy omitted, which his Majeſty, for ſome Reaſons of State, or perhaps out of a Principle of inimitable Generoſity, has thought fit not to make publick: For in the *French* Copy it's ſaid, with reſpect to the Circumſtances of that deſign, *On n'en mettra pour tant que tres peu jey ; Of which we ſhall mention but a very few here.* This Intimation is given us when it comes to mention *Leefdale*'s Depoſition ; and it is not to be doubted, but this Gentleman being heartily reſolved all along to diſcover the Villany, he would omit no occaſion to pump out all that poſſibly he could learn, relating thereto, in his Converſation with the Conſpirators. So that whatever Provocations and Perſonal Injuries the *French* King has done His Majeſty, it ſeems a Greatneſs of Mind forbids Him to expoſe His Enemy all he can.

Leaving the *French* King to waſh off from himſelf, the beſt way he can, the Blot that muſt ſtick to his Memory in this Horrid Attempt, I can't omit to add to this, ſome remarkable Paſſages, never hitherto made publick ; by which the world may ſee the Temper of our King, and the Unjuſtneſs and Ingratitude of ſome of his Enemies.

About Ten years ago he received a Letter from an unknown hand, who yet gave himſelf a Name, in which he offered to deliver Europe *from all her Fears, by deſtroying the* French *King ; he deſired only a ſafe Refuge in* Holland, *and a ſmall Subſiſtence, much leſs than he ſhould leave behind him in* France: *He deſired an Anſwer might be writ to him, and left with the Poſt-maſter's Wife at* Paris. *And about a week after, he writ a ſecond to the ſame purpoſe. The firſt Letter came to the then Prince of* Orange *at night, at* Loo, *and Monſieur* Dykvelt *happened to be with him ; ſo he ſhewed him the Letter, and deſired him to go to the* Hague *immediately, and deliver that Letter to Monſieur* D'Avaux, *who was then the* French

French *Ambaſſador to the* States: *Monſieur* Dykvelt *made ſuch haſte, that he was with Monſieur* D'Avaux *next morning, and gave him the Letter (and the ſecond was likewiſe ſent to him): He received it with great Acknowledgments of the Prince's Generoſity, and ſent the Letter to* Paris. *The Poſt-maſter's Wife being examined, ſaid, That one had come ſeveral times to call for a Letter; but he not coming again, ſhe was ordered to go about* Paris, *and ſee if ſhe could know him again: One was taken up, who ſhe believed was the perſon, and was put in the* Baſtile; *he happened to be a Proteſtant, which no doubt made the Court of* France *to like the Diſcovery the better: But when ſome of the Parliament came to examine him, and to Confront him with the woman, ſhe, when ſhe viewed him nearly, and heard him ſpeak, owned that ſhe was miſtaken, and that he was not the man; ſo after a little while, he was diſmiſs'd, and came into* Holland *upon the general Perſecution of the Proteſtants.* By theſe Circumſtances it appears, That the Court of *France* believed that this was a *Real Deſign*, and no Contrivance thrown out to try the Prince's Temper. But another Inſtance ſhewed, that the King looks on Propoſitions of this kind, with ſo much horror, that he thought that which on all other occaſions was the moſt Sacred with him, I mean *His Word*, did not bind in this. *A few days after the King came to the Crown, an unknown perſon writ to the L. B. of S. That he had a Propoſition of great Conſequence to make to the King, if he ſhould have his Promiſe, That he might do it ſafely. This the King allowed the Biſhop to do; ſo he writ to him by the name and method that he had given: When he came to him, he told how long he had lived and ſerved in* Verſailles, *and how well he knew all the method of that Court; and at laſt he came to offer to kill the* French *King: At this the Biſhop ſtarted up immediately, and ſaid, He thought the King was too well known, for any to dare to come with ſuch a Propoſition; he hoped he himſelf had been alſo ſo well known, that none ſhould have made*

it by him; he was ſorry that a Promiſe was given of Safety; but he bid the Rogue be gone immediately. When he gave an account of this, next day, the King thought he had carried the matter of the Promiſe too far; for no Promiſe was to be underſtood to relate to ſuch Crimes; and therefore he wiſhed that the Biſhop had ſeized on him; and ordered him to be ſure to do it, if ever he could ſet eye on him again. But ſince this is ſo noble a Head, and ſo ſuitable to the Courage, as well as to the other great and truly Royal Qualities of our Glorious King, I will give ſome more Inſtances, which ſhew how little he deſerved of the Late King, that he ſhould encourage ſo black an Action. *When he came firſt into* England, *he underſtood as he came along, that ſome began to talk of proceeding againſt King* James's *Perſon, and he deſired him that acquainted him with this, to find out who they were that held ſuch diſcourſe, for he would ſuffer none of them to ſtay about him.* And it appeared very evidently at *Windſor*, how firm he was to this Reſolution; for when he had the late King in his hands, and that many adviſed him to keep him ſafe at leaſt, till *Ireland* were reduced, if not to the end of the War; ſome propoſing his own Town of *Breda* as a fit place: He ſaid, *Thoſe Advices might be perhaps both wiſe and ſafe, but he could not follow them; for whatever he might do in the way of War, he could not bring himſelf to do any thing perſonally againſt him*; and he not only gave the Guards that waited on him, Publick Orders, but Secret Directions to leave him at full liberty, as appeared by the Event. Another Inſtance will ſhew, not only how far the King is from the poſſibility of hearkning to all black Propoſitions, but even to Indirect ones, when the Perſons of Princes may be endangered by them. *When the late King was in* Ireland, *a Propoſition was made by one that had ſerved him, and loved him, that he thought might put an end to the War. He ſent it to the King by the* B. *of* S. *it was this: He moved,*

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That a Third-Rate Ship well manned, and well commanded, might be ſent to St. George's *Channel; and that when they ſhould come near* Dublin, *they ſhould have Orders to declare for the late King; and ſend him a Meſſage about it, which he who made the motion, and that was to go along in the Ship, ſaid he would be one of thoſe that ſhould carry it. He did not doubt but that upon the Invitation, King* James *would preſently come aboard, and then they ſhould ſail away with him; but he added two things, the one was, That they ſhould have Orders not to bring him to* England, *or to make him a Priſoner, but to carry him either to ſome part of* Spain *or* Italy, *and there to ſet him aſhore; the other was, That he ſhould have Ten thouſand Guineas conſigned in the Ship to be given to him in the place where they ſhould land him, that ſo he might not be in too naked a condition. When the King heard all this, he ſaid it looked plauſible, and he verily believed it would take; but without taking time to think on it, he ſaid he would not meddle with it. He hated Tricks, and would be in none: Beſides, the late King, if he came aboard, would bring ſome of his Guards with him, who without doubt would offer at ſome reſiſtance, when they ſaw themſelves catched; upon that a diſorder might ariſe, and ſome of the Sea-men might perhaps knock King* James *in the head; therefore he would go on in a fair open way, and truſt to the Providence of God, while he maintained his Integrity.* Theſe Inſtances will ſhew in how different a mould the King was caſt, from thoſe who can either contrive or incourage the deteſtable Practiſe that is now by the good Providence of God diſcovered.

But to the Conſpiracy it ſelf. How far it went before Monſieur *de Louvois*'s death, we know no more by the printed Account, *than that it was concerted, and that* Dumont *was to be employed in it.* But there are undoubted grounds to believe it has been of an old date, and that more were concerned in it than Monſieur *de Louvois* and *Dumont.* That there was one *Jones* employed to mur-

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ther the King, both *here*, before His Majeſty went to *Ireland*, and when he was there, the intercepted Letter of *Tyrconnell* to the late Queen, and a Journal of other Letters found at *Dublin* in a *certain Cloſet*, leaves us no ground to doubt. The moſt material ſteps that were made in it after *Barbeſieux* came to the Miniſtry, the printed Relation is pretty clear and exact.

In the whole management of this Affair, the *French* Court has ſhewed with a deep cunning the blackeſt Treachery againſt a Prince whom their King pretends to protect.

The firſt and inmoſt wheel of this motion is not to be ſeen. The next is *Barbeſieux*, and he appears not to *Dumont*, who is to give the blow, and to run the moſt apparent hazard of being ſeized, and brought to a Confeſſion; but treats only with *Grandvall*, who is to ſhare the leaſt in the Danger, and is in leſs probability to be ſeized, and he alone is to treat with *Dumont*. Again, *Barbeſieux* pretends to inform *Grandvall* of a perſonal Injury done him by the King, no leſs *than the ordering his Father to be poiſoned*, for which he ſaid he *might now be revenged*; and even to this he uſes only the ſoft word, *he ſuſpects it*. The reaſon of his pretending this, is only to cover the horror of the Deſign as to himſelf, with the notion of a perſonal Revenge for the murther of his Father; and uſes no harſher word, than *that he ſuſpects it*, to the end, that *Grandvall* might not lay ſo much ſtreſs upon that ſtory, as to leſſen the true motives he was to act upon, which *Grandvall* tells us himſelf, was, *becauſe His Majeſty was look'd upon as the only Obſtacle to the* French *King's Deſigns*. As for the ridiculous Story it ſelf, it were an officious piece of folly for any one to take further notice of it; The *monopoly of poiſoning* is to be left to the *French* Court, that deſerves it beſt, for the great improvements they have made of late years in that Art.

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The *French* Court's management with regard to the Aſſaſſinate *Dumont*, is a continued thread of Craft, and the poor Wretch is cheated in the whole tract of it; he is to kill the King, and thereby run an almoſt inevitable hazard of being either killed on the place, or taken and hanged. But ſince no body will venture on ſuch an Action without ſome hopes of getting off, they feed him with a fine project of *having* 1500 *Horſe the firſt year under the Command of* Grandvall *and* Parker: *and* 3000 *the next under Monſieur* Chanlais *himſelf to reſcue and bring him off.* This is all ſtuff, and in the opinion of every body that underſtands any thing of War, was next to an impoſſibility: And it is ſtrange that he could not ſee through it; but it ſeems the impreſſion of 20000 *Livres of Eſtate, and a Knighthood of St.* Lazar, had intoxicated him ſo, as to ſhut up all the other Avenues of his Soul. The *French* Court made their account, that *Dumont* muſt be ſacrificed, which is one of the reaſons that *Barbeſieux* uſes ſo much caution with him; and *Grandvall* tells *Leefdale* plainly, That *it little concerned them whether* Dumont *was taken or not.* But this is not all; the miſerable Creature is to be ſhamm'd out of his life, what way ſoever the matter went. Upon his ſucceeding in the Attempt, he muſt either happen to be ſeized, or to eſcape; if ſeized, he is ſure to be hanged; if he eſcapes, and comes back for his Reward, it's not to be doubted but he was to be hanged likewiſe, *and that merely to blind the World with a notion of the* French *King's abhorrence of the Act*; *Dumont* having nothing to ſhew for his Warrant, and *Grandvall* being the only perſon that had treated with him, and that was in no capacity to keep him harmleſs. It's true, We find *that by means of his Wife*, Dumont *had ſent ſeveral Letters to* Barbeſieux; but *Barbeſieux* was better adviſed than to write him Anſwers himſelf, that being left to *Grandvall* to do: So that all along *Barbeſieux* is ſafe for

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any thing that *Dumont* can ſay of *his perſonal treating with him*; and thus there is no imaginable way left for the Aſſaſſinate to eſcape the Gallows, whatever comes on it: for either he muſt be hanged, if taken by the Confederates; or if he eſcape their hands, he muſt be ſacrificed to *a piece of Pageantry of the* French *Court*.

But the *French* Court, though they were reſolved to ſacrifice *Dumont*, they take all care poſſible he ſhall not fail in the Attempt: As they put him on the Action it ſelf with the hopes of great Rewards, and of being reſcued and brought off, ſo they put him on to do it in the manner that was leaſt likely to miſs: They tell him a falſe ſtory of the *King's wearing a Coat of Mail*; or rather, *a Waſtcoat of Mail under his Cloaths*, as it's in the *French* Copy; and *Barbeſieux* is the perſon that invents this, and commands *Grandvall* to tell it to *Dumont*: The reaſon of this ſtory is, That *Dumont* might not betake himſelf to the *Poynard*, which they foreſaw would be more difficult, as requiring nearer Acceſs to His Majeſties Perſon, and likewiſe was not ſo certainly mortal; but to let him ſee the neceſſity of uſing *Fire-Arms*, that kill at a greater diſtance, and ſurer. When in the mean time the *French* Court could not but know, That His Majeſty does ſo far neglect all ſuch pre-cautions as a Coat of Mail, that the Prayers of thoſe about him could never prevail with him to part with, or ſo much as to cover his *Blew Ribbon* or *Star* in Action. There is yet another Artifice uſed with *Dumont*, to make ſure of him. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe from his abandoning the Deſign the year before, and his retiring to the Court of *Hanouer*, that he might entertain ſome ſcruples about the feaſibleneſs of his being reſcued by perſons of no greater Figure or Command, than *Grandvall* or *Parker*: Therefore it is agreed upon, that one in a greater Poſt, and who is known in *France* to excel in the Art of Taking up Ground for a Camp, or laying

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an Ambuſcade, ſhould now Command the Party that was to reſcue him ; *and that inſtead of* 1500 *Horſe, headed by* Grandvall *and* Parker *the year* 1691, *there ſhould be* 3000 *employed to that purpoſe the year* 1692, *under the Command of Monſieur* Chanlais.

But the carriage of the *French* Court in this Affair, towards the late King *James*, is a maſter-piece of Craft and Treachery. Here it is, that it were almoſt to be wiſh'd, that there were a Curtain drawn over that part of the Stage, *where this Unfortunate Prince comes to act ſo unnatural and ſo affrightful a part.* That any one that ever fill'd the *Engliſh* Throne, ſhould be capable of ſo Un-princely a Revenge as Murder, is a very mortifying Reflection, and leads us naturally to look back to *ſome ſhrowdly-ſuſpected Events* that have fallen out in *England* of late years, which for ſome Reaſons are not now inſiſted on.

As in moſt of the Tranſactions of this Prince's Reign, he was impoſed upon by the *French* King's Deſigns, and gave himſelf up to the Meaſures given him from *France*, which proved his Ruin ; ſo now, when under their Protection, they bring him in to cover and own a Tranſaction ſo baſe and horrid, that the *French* King had not the face to appear in it himſelf. They ſo ordered the matter, that Grandvall, Parker, *and* Leeſdale, *ſhould wait upon King* James, *and receive his Approbation of the thing, with Promiſes of Encouragement* ; and this is not done till the whole Deſign had been fully concerted before-hand. It was fit the Murder of the King ſhould paſs in the world as a Perſonal Revenge of King *James*, and that the *French* Court ſhould lay it upon the Quarrel betwixt thoſe two Princes, tho at the ſame time *they had the chief hand in the Contrivance of it, were to reward the Inſtruments employed in it, and were to reap the greateſt Advantages by it.* Whether that Unfortunate Prince was ſenſible of this Trick put upon him, or whether his eager deſire to ſee the King ta-

ken off, gave him no leiſure for Reflection, it's hard to determine: This is clear, That he thought himſelf no ways obliged to uſe the precautions that even *Barbeſieux* had done; ſince that after his ſpeaking to *Grandvall*, according to the words in the printed account, *he was pleaſed to entertain* Parker, Leefdale, *and him, all together on the ſame ſubject*; for in the *French* Copy it's ſaid, *Qu' alors il a auſſi parlé avec le dit* Parker *&* Leefdale, *de cette Affaire*: *At the ſame time He* (meaning King *James*, and not the Priſoner *Grandvall*, as in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation) *ſpoke likewiſe to* Parker *and* Leefdale *about that Affair*.

The Treachery of the *French* Court towards King *James* in this buſineſs is *deep* and *black*: All the world lays his Ruin at the *French* King's door; and, it's to the Meaſures he gave him, that he owes the loſs of Three Crowns: The leaſt amends could be made him for all this, was an Honourable Retreat in *France*; yet that this is granted him only on the account of their own Intereſt, appears in a great many Inſtances, and particularly in the part they bring him in to act in this Conſpiracy. If there had been true Friendſhip and Kindneſs meant him, they would never have put upon him a neceſſity of making himſelf known in ſo foul a Deſign to *Three perſons all at once*; but they would have at leaſt allowed him the pre-cautions that *Barbeſieux*, if not the very ſame that one of his *own rank* thought themſelves obliged to obſerve.

But this is not all: In bringing King *James* to own this buſineſs, the *French* Court did him the laſt offices of an Enemy. Inſtead of promoting his Re-acceſſion to the Throne, they did more at one daſh to ſhut it for ever againſt him, than all that his Enemies could have thought of. With what horror muſt the *Engliſh* Nation have been ſtruck, to ſee a Prince that had recovered them from the brink of Deſtruction, and expoſed his Perſon ſo often

for

for their ſake; to ſee him, I ſay, murdered by the bloody hand of a Ruffian! And with what execrations and cries for Vengeance, againſt both Actors and Contrivers of ſuch a Villany! Could the *French* ever imagine, that the way for King *James* to regain the hearts of the Three Kingdoms, that he had loſt by his endeavouring the Subverſion of their Laws and Liberties, was *to hire Three Parricides to murder the only Perſon that had ſecured theſe to them?*

If the ſight of *Cæſar's Bloody Shirt* had ſo wonderful an Influence on the *Roman* people, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, his Murderers, whom the very day before they had honoured with the glorious names of *Liberatores Patriæ*, *The Saviours of their Countrey*, were thereupon forced to fly *Rome*, and ſeek Sanctuary elſewhere from their Rage; what juſt Reſentments would not the diſmal news of *our Britiſh Cæſar's Murder*, and the ſight of a Queen, **and ſuch a Queen**, in Tears, have kindled in every *Engliſh* breaſt, againſt the Perpetrators, Contrivers, and Abettors of ſo horrid and curſed a Crime?

The caſe indeed is vaſtly different betwixt the *Roman Cæſar* and *ours*: The Ancient Frame and Conſtitution of *Rome* was ſubverted by the one; and the reſtoring to *England* its firſt and beſt Conſtitution of Government, is wholly owing to the other. Let us judge then, if the Murder of *Julius Cæſar* was ſo much reſented by the *Romans*, that nothing but the Blood of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, two men, otherwiſe Excellent, and once their Darlings, could appeaſe their Wrath, and all this, *becauſe, tho* Cæſar *had enſlaved* Rome, *yet he was Brave and Virtuous*? How much more deeply reſented would the Murder of a King have been, *who inſtead of enſlaving his own Countrey, had ſaved both It and Ours; and whoſe Bravery and Virtue is equally the Admiration and Envy of his Enemies*; and this procured by a Prince whom we had but too many Reaſons before *not to love or wiſh for*?

Thanks to Heaven the Fatal Deſign has miſcarried! but ſtill the Guilt and Infamy remains: And we are either the moſt inſenſible, or the maddeſt people that ever was, if this one action of the late King's, tho there were no more, don't ſtamp upon us an indelible impreſſion *of that dreadful condition we ſhould fall into, if ever through the Anger of Heaven, or by our own Follies, we ſhould come again under the Power of a Prince of this Temper, and capable of ſuch Actions.*

But how little regard the Conſpirators had to King *James*'s Rewards or Intereſt, and for whoſe ſake, and upon whoſe Promiſes of Recompence it was they acted, appears evidently by their own Confeſſion: *It was* 20000 *Livres of Eſtate, and a Knighthood of St.* Lazar, *that* Dumont, *and it was a Dutchy that* Grandvall *expected*; and none of all theſe in *England*, but in *France*, and promiſed them by *French* Miniſters. As their Rewards were to be in *France*, ſo the Motives which wrought upon them, were thoſe which regard the *French* King and his Greatneſs; and for the Reſtoration of King *James*, that came in only by the by, and in conſequence of the other. So then, tho the late King was as forward as any of the reſt to come into the Conſpiracy, yet it was upon the *French* King's Credit, and for his Intereſt alone, that both *Grandvall* and *Dumont* were perſuaded to engage in the buſineſs.

What further remains neceſſary to be taken notice of, with reſpect to this Conſpiracy, ſhall be done in as few words as poſſible.

We find that upon the Rumour ſpread of *ſome Diſorders in* Scotland *which would oblige His Majeſty to croſs the Seas again*, *Grandvall*'s patience was almoſt at an end, which puts him upon haſtning *Leefdale* with this expreſſion, *Dear friend, we are like to loſe our Fortune; I beg of you that we may go away immediately.* He had ſwallowed a

Dutchy

Dutchy already in his thoughts, and was impatient till he was put in poſſeſſion of it, by ſucceeding in his Errand to *Flanders*; But his going into the Jeſuits Colledge at *Bruſſels* on the road, to beg *That God would bleſs their Undertaking*, was, after all, a clear Demonſtration, that one principal Motive that had been ſuggeſted to him to Murder the King, was the *account of Religion*: For when was it heard, That an Aſſaſſinate, ſet on by a mere Perſonal Revenge or Intereſt, had the Impudence to beg the Aſſiſtance of God Almighty to an Undertaking of that kind? This is a convincing Argument, that he thought God's Glory was concerned in an Attempt to take off a *Heretick Prince that ſtood in the way of his Miſter's Deſigns.* We know how far of late years the *Court-Divines* of *France* have carried their Caſuiſtical Doctrine, to Patronize the very worſt of Actions, where they tend to the Glory or Intereſt of the *French* King. In *ſeveral of their Printed Theſes* they have poſitively aſſerted, *That an Action in it ſelf morally ill, becomes good, if the Intention be to ſerve the King, or extirpate Hereſie.* No wonder then, that a perſon of *Grandval*'s Temper, and embark'd in ſuch an Affair, ſhould embrace a Notion of Divinity that might ſet his Conſcience at eaſe in what then he was going about.

In the printed Account we find Monſieur *Maurau*, Envoy from *Poland* to the States, is mentioned, *as one that kept a cloſe Correſpondence with* Bedell, *and by his means with the Court of* France; and are told, *that by the help of theſe two, the* French *Court managed their choiceſt Correſpondence in* Holland. It may not be altogether improper to give ſome hint what this *Maurau* is, and from thence we may obſerve the ſubtile management of the *French* Miniſters.

This is a Man of extraordinary Parts, and an unbounded Ambition. He was formerly one of the Three *extraordinary Provincial Treaſurers of War in* France, which place

place he kept about eight years together. In the year 1682. (if I miſtake not) he was arreſted, together with *Arnauld* and *Talon*, his two Collegues, *Pour avoir devertii une grande ſomme des aeniers du roy.* In plain *Engliſh*, *For having robbed the King of a vaſt ſum of Money:* All three were carried to *Amiens* in order to be tried for their Lives before Monſieur *d' Bretuell* the *Intendant*; but before they were brought to their Tryal, *Arnauld* prevented his Judges, *by killing himſelf in Priſon*; the other two were found guilty, but at the Solicitation of Monſieur *Louvois*, whoſe Creatures they had been, they were only ſentenced *to be baniſhed for ever the Kingdom of* France, *and to have all their Eſtates confiſcated.* Whereupon they retired into *Holland*, where ſome time thereafter, by the means of Monſieur *Bethune*, the Favourite of the Queen of *Poland*, *Maurau* was made Envoy from that Crown to the *States.* Now, who could have imagined that a Man *thus Baniſhed, Ruined, and Affronted* in *France*, ſhould become one of the two Perſons, *that the* French *Court employ'd to manage their choiceſt Correſpondence* in *Holland?* This ſeemed yet the more improbable, becauſe *Maurau* was noted for *exclaiming in all Companies, and on all Occaſions againſt the* French *King and his Actions*; inſomuch, that it was wondered at by every body, how a Man employed in an Ambaſſy from a Neutral Crown, came to ſhew ſo openly his inveterate hatred againſt *France*, without the leaſt reſerve of good manners.

It appears now, that all was but a *Sham* to carry on with leſs Suſpition his Intriegues with the *Miniſters* of *France.* And in gaining a Man that they had ſo ſenſibly diſobliged, and who of all others was in leaſt hazard of being ſuſpected by the States, the *French* have given us a remarkable inſtance, both of their cunning, and of *the Means and Power they have to corrupt Men into their Intereſt.*

It may perhaps be expected that a Character ſhould be here given of the reſt of the Conſpirators; but the Conſpiracy it ſelf lays it ſufficiently open, what ſort of Men they muſt needs be that could enter into it. Only this may be further ſaid of them in ſhort; Monſieur *Bedall* is the Son of a Merchant in *Paris*, who has ſince been enobled in *Sweden*, under the Title of Baron of *Alsfield*. He has all his life-time been but little obliged to Fame, and ever paſſed for a Man capable of any ſort of Villany, that might ſerve to make his Court, or raiſe his Fortune.

Monſieur *Paparell* was born and educated a Proteſtant, and changed his Religion to ingratiate himſelf with the Court, being look'd upon as guilty of a great many groſs Immoralities in his Life, and one that adores no other Divinity than that of *Lewis* the Great.

Monſieur *Chanlais* has ever till now appeared a Man of more Honour than moſt of the Court of *France* are; he paſſes for a Man of Intriegue and Parts, and was thought a fit Perſon to be employed the laſt year to manage an Accommodation betwixt the *French* King and the Duke of *Savoy*: But it ſeems he has at length ſacrific'd his Reputation and Virtue to an irregular Ambition, and a deſire to pleaſe his Maſter.

As to our *Engliſh* Champion, *Parker*, his Character is well-known here, and is very apparent by the villanous Part he has acted in this Conſpiracy. But there is one thing relating to this Man's ſhare of the Plot, that muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence, and which brings us to look back to the time in which this Villany was to be executed.

It was thought ſtrange, that the *French* were no earlier in the Field this Spring, conſidering that their greateſt advantage lies in being able to draw their Forces out of their Winter Quarters ſooner than the Confederates, for the

the moſt part, can do. But they were reſolved this year to play all their Engines at once, *The French King was to be in* Flanders, Namur *was to be beſieged, King* James *was to Land in* England, *and His Majeſty was to be Murdered, all about the ſame time.* To nothing elſe, but *the concerting all theſe Deſigns together*, can the delay of the *French* King's Journey to *Flanders*, from day to day, for more than ſix Weeks together be attributed.

But there is this yet to be further remark'd, That at the ſame time that *Grandvall* and *Leefdale* take journey from *Paris* to *Flanders*, Parker *comes over to* England. We have all reaſon to remember the great hopes our Male-contents expreſt here at that time, and how ſure they ſeemed to be of ſome *new Revolution.* It's true, theſe people are eaſily buoyed up upon the leaſt appearances; and every ſmall Accident that ſeems to favour their Cauſe, raiſes their hopes beyond all bounds. But about that time, ſo much joy and aſſurance was viſible in their very Countenances, as ſeem'd to proceed from a fixt certainty they had, of ſome mighty Succeſs which they hoped for in their Affairs, that we could not poſſibly dive into. It's true, the *French* King was in *Flanders*, and King *James* was waiting the firſt opportunity of Wind and Tide to waft over his Army into *England*; But even all this could ſcarce make up more than a *Probability*, much leſs a *Certainty* of Succeſs. His Majeſty was already on the other ſide, and his Army was drawing together from all Quarters to oppoſe the *French*. Our Fleet was at Sea, and a far braver one it was, than the *French* could poſſibly ſend out againſt us. Whence then could all this Confidence proceed? There muſt certainly be ſome other thing in it than we were then aware of.

Parker's coming over at that time, and his correſponding with his Friends here, carries with it a ſhrowd ſuſpition of what we may reaſonably judge was the ground

of

of all this Inſolence of the Party.— It were folly to imagine he ſhould make publick among them, the Deſign then in agitation *to murther the King:* It was too great a Secret to be communicated to many. But on the other hand, it's ſcarce to be thought, but that *Parker* aſſured his Friends in general, *That there was ſome great and certain Event ready then to break forth, that would decide the Controverſie*; and he might even venture to open the Secret to ſome of the firſt *form* amongſt them.

It were harſh, and might ſeem ſevere to ſuppoſe, that our Malecontents could be brought in, either to contrive or conſent to murther His Majeſty in cold blood, though 'tis to be feared there may be found among them ſome more than *Parker*, capable of ſo much wickedneſs: yet it's not to be doubted, but the moſt part, if not at all of them, would have heartily embraced the advantage of ſuch a Conjuncture as that which muſt needs have attended the Blow, and then have ſatisfied their own Conſciences and Honour, by putting a diſtinction betwixt the Treaſon and the Traytor. They might abhor that Villany, and yet ſtrive to reap all the profit they could from it: for it were too ſevere a trial of their Vertue to hope they would have changed Parties upon ſuch an Accident.

It remains only, that we ſhould take notice of His Majeſty's Carriage, as to *Grandvall*'s Tryal. In *Flanders*, and all other Countries where Torture is admitted, never any Aſſaſſinate eſcaped it, but he. It is not looked upon as a ſufficient ground to excuſe a Criminal from it, that he voluntarily confeſſes his Indictment. On the contrary, if there lie probable grounds of Suſpicion of any one as *Acceſſary*, that he does not name in his voluntary Confeſſion, the Criminal is put to the Torture, to anſwer, *Whether that Perſon ſuſpected, be acceſſary to the Crime or not.* Now in this Caſe, there were the greateſt preſumptions that poſſibly could be, of the *French* King's be-

ing concerned; and doubtless the Council of War (as every body else that's not prejudiced) were of that Opinion. Yet all this could not prevail with His Majesty to put this Wretch to the *Torture*, nor was he put so much as in *Irons* (the Fate of every ordinary Felon); *a Generosity without Example!*

But that *Grandvall* kept a reserve with respect to the *French* King, in the whole thread of his Deportment and Confession, is very probable. He saw there was no necessity put upon him to confess more than what *Leefdale*, *Dumont*, and *D'Amours*, either had or could depose against him: He knew they could say nothing of the *French* King in the Affair, and indeed were acquainted with little more than what he himself thought fit to tell them, having lain under no temptation to name the *French* King to them, though he had known him to be concerned; it being enough that what was promised them, was in *Barbesieux*'s name. Upon all which Considerations, and that he was to die however, and that without any previous Torture to oblige him to a further Confession, he had been a Mad-man indeed to have needlesly acknowledged any thing that might immediately reflect upon his Master, of whose glory the Action it self, for which he was executed, shews him to have been an Idolater.

There might likewise be another Motive to induce a Man that knew himself without the compass of a Pardon, to use *some Reserve*. He left Friends behind him, and particularly the Lady to whom he writ his last Letter, mentioned in his Tryal, who is thought to have been his Mistress; and it was but reasonable to him to hope he might, by observing so great a respect to the *French* King at his Death, *oblige him to take some care, both of her, and of his other Relations after he was gone.* The Letter he wrote to this Lady, carries with it something of *Mystery*, and would seem to point towards somewhat of this kind.

Sure

Sure there was no need for him to desire *her to go to the Archbishop of* Rheims, *to tell him, That it cost him his Life for having obeyed the Orders of Monsieur* d'Barbesieux! Since his own publick Confession told that, which he might well imagine would be carried to all the Nations of *Christendom*, and to the Court of *France*, as soon as to any; therefore it is but reasonable to suppose, that some hidden Intimation was given to the Archbishop of *Rheims* by this strange kind of Letter, which tho we do not understand, the Archbishop himself, no doubt, does.

I have done with this Paper, and tremble to think, for I am sure I cannot reckon up, what the Consequences of this Assassination would have been, if the Anger of Heaven had, for the Punishment of our Sins, suffered it to take its effect. They are much more easy to be imagined than express'd. *Minds less black than theirs, who contrived it, can hardly conceive what a Scene of Barbarity and Cruelty, of Blood and Horror, must have followed upon it.*

FINIS.

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